THE Trimming Court-Divine. OR REFLEXIONS ON Dr. *SHERLOCK*'s Book Of the LAWFULNESS of SWEARING ALLEGIANCE TO THE Present Government.

LONDON, Printed in the Year 1690.

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THIS hard to say, whether this Piece of the Doctor's should be called a new Trick of Juggling with the World, or of Trimming with all Governours whatever, that have the good luck to get uppermost, (and as 'tis timed, with our Court in particular,) and yet for fear of the worst, not altogether to disoblige the other neither. 'Tis a continued Series of Contradictions, varnish'd over with a smooth preaching Style, and misapplied Scripture Phrases. They were *wicked*, according to him, and transgressed God's Law, who contributed to drive out King *James*; and yet they are no less wicked, and Transgressours of the same divine Law, who shall in the least contribute to bring him in again. He grants he has *Right* to the Crown; that is, he holds 'tis *due* to him, nor can it be due from any but his own Subjects; yet at the same time, he pronounces them Sinners and Traitors, who shall offer to pay him what is his *due*. He makes a *legal Title* to be contrary to the *divine Command*, and so sets *our Laws* and *his Gospel* together by the Ears. Nay, his skewing Fancy makes Scripture contradict it self; while on the one hand it commands us to *render unto all their due*, Rom. 13. 7. and yet, on the other hand, forbids us under penalty of Damnation, to render to the ejected Prince what he grants to be *duly*, *rightfully*, and *legally* his.

He tells us, we ought to pay King *William* Taxes; yet he makes both the Hearth-money, Excise, and Customs, to be legally due to another; for the *Legal Right* to the Crown does necessarily infer a Legal Right to those Revenues that are annext to it; which makes the Acts of our late Parliaments

applying them to another utterly *illegal*, and renders those who have paid them liable by Law to pay them over again. He represents the Church of *England* to hold, that Allegiance is due by God's Command to a Supreme Governour, who is *actually in Possession*, as 'tis known *Cromwel* was; and yet makes them all Breakers of God's Law, for not submitting to the same *Cromwel* heartily *for the Lord's* sake, and paying him a voluntary Allegiance, but endeavouring most *wickedly* to restore King *Charles*. In a word, he makes it impossible there should be any such thing in nature as an *Usurper*; for as soon as he starts up into power enough, he immediately becomes (no matter how he comes by that Power) *the Lord's Annointed, and God's Ordinance*, and Allegiance is due to him by God's express Command. What was formerly but a Jesting Proverb or By-word, *viz.* that *God is still on the stronger side*, the learned Doctor espouses for a serious Principle, and grounds his whole Book upon it; and with good reason; for if God be always *on the stronger side*, his Piety and his Interest both will oblige him to be *on God's side*, and then he is sure to be a Happy man, and have all things go well with him both in this World and the next.

I wonder the Gentleman who writ the *Remarks* upon his Book should think he had no skill in Policy; for certainly no man who reflects upon his Conduct, but must grant him to be a most profound Politician: What greater Policy than to bear himself so as, let the World turn round as it will, still to be sure to light on his legs? What greater Art than to order matters so as, let all vicissitudes of Fortune light as cross as they please, still to secure at once both his Interest and Conscience? His Scheme of Government is Calculated for every Meridian, nor can any thing happen amiss to him, provided there be but an actual Possessour of the Supreme Power, which 'tis impossible there should want. The most palpable Usurpations are by his Doctrine raised to the same Level with the cleareſt Inheritance, though title through a long continued Descent from Successive Ancestors, and confirmed by the most fundamental Laws of the Nation. Had *Jack Cade* got Power enough to dethrone King *Richard*, and had forc'd a Parliament to subscribe to his rude Democracy, (and 'tis all one, whether Policy or Force, or a mixture of both sway them,) the Dr. would have taken his Oath he was his

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most humble Servant. Whoever leaps into the Saddle, the Doctor will most submissively hold his Stirrup: Whatever Card turns up Trump, it serves him indifferently to play his Trimming Game. And if this be not Policy, I know not what is.

He keeps a mighty pother in his Preface with the Motives why he should and should not write; when the onely Point is, whether he writes sense or no. He tells us how far he was advanc'd towards Trimming formerly, and how he had writ some Papers, which shew'd his hankering after his taking the Oath. Of which I believe no Man that knows his *Genius* can doubt. For, it was most expedient for his Interest to watch the Probability or Improbability of the Return of King *James*; while he had stronger hopes of it, he stood stoutly to his Principles, and could not doubt in that case to be less than a Bishop; but when he saw Things, according to his Apprehension, lean more towards a Settlement, and that those who shar'd the Principles of our Church, were promoted to be Protestant Bishops, it was very prudently done, and most becoming his kind of Policy, to be provided beforehand with something to excuse his Levity; knowing that it would be too palpable, and too much shock the World, to see him run from one Extreme to another, all on a sudden; *Nemo repente fit turpissimus*. Above all, he labours hard (and indeed 'tis a very difficult Task) to gain or preserve the Repute of a Man of a very sincere and tender Conscience; but the mischief is, while he strives to overdo, he gives us a Sample of it, enough to overthrow all his Pretence to it. For (Prof. p. 2, 3.) he that once acknowledges that out of *pure Principles of Conscience*, he refuseth the Oath; that is, he held it then *against Conscience* to take it; and yet he tells us at the same time, that he *never made it his business to dissuade them from it*. A most Conscientious Pastour, no doubt, not to dissuade those Souls who were under his Care, from that which himself then judg'd to be *against* pure Principles of Conscience. As much as to say, *Run to the Devil, my good Friends, as fast as you will, 'tis not my business, though your Pastour, to stop or dissuade you.* This was the Temper of the Doctor's Old Conscience, and I much fear he has scarce changed for the better since he got a New one.

His Conversion to Swearing is no less extraordinary than his Conscience is extravagant. He had liv'd many a fair Year, had not con-

considered the Point maturely, studied it diligently, and had writ more than one Treatise about those Duties; nor can we doubt but a Man of his Place (especially his Circumstances of Writing obliging him to it) had read over and over the Acts of our Convocations, which finally prevail'd with him to forgo his *pure Principles of Conscience*, and fall to *Swearing*. Whence then dawned to him this new Light, which made it evident to him it was lawfull for him to take the Oath? Some of his Friends say, that his *Comfortable Importunes* caress'd and cajoll'd him into it; others, that fat Benefices were about to be distributed at that very time, a thing which makes a Trimming Spirit, that stood balancing *whether for a Penny*, easily topple to that side that bids most. But, letting those Talks of his Friends go as they came, 'tis most charitable to hear the Reasons himself gives of his wonderfull Conversion.

He tells us, (Pref. p. 3.) *he prayed heartily to God*, &c. And so let God look to it now, if he be in an Errour; poor Dr. *Sherlock* has done all that lay in the Power of a good Christian, and put himself by *hearty Prayer* under the Conduct and Guidance of the Holy Ghost; and therefore, if he be misled, 'tis none of his Fault, let it light where it will. What a wise Divine is this, to look for new Revelations for the old Doctrine of Christianity, which teaches us, that Oaths are *most sacred Things*, and not to be taken to any, but where 'tis *evident* they are *of Right due*.

But Prayer did not his Work, it seems, Celestial Influences did not satisfie his Scruples to his Mind; *Stick he did*, (Pref. p. 5.) *and there had stuck to this day*, but for *Bishop* Overall's *Convocation-Book*. His Prayers by his discourse *cramp his Thinking*; but that Book set him most blessedly at *Liberty*, and gave scope to his cogitative Faculty. A pretty Fetch, to hale in the Church of *England* to abett his untoward Principles. We are not now to learn, that there are not a few in our Church, who make it their business to corrupt her true Doctrine, so to make it suit with their innovating Caprices; by which means they gain to themselves the Honour of being reputed her genuine Sons, and get high Preferment into the Bargain, for doing that Drudgery. He has already been told by the *Remarker*, that those Canons are of no Authority, being neither assented to by Act of Parliament, nor so much as by the King's Letters Patents, and there-

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fore can be no authentick Declaration of the Church of *England*'s Doctrine. But let us see whether the Doctor is sincere in going about to perswade us that they could at all influence him. Whoever reads them may clearly see, that the whole stress of their declaring our Duty of submitting to Powers of new introduc'd, depends upon those words, [when those Governments are *Thoroughly settled*,] which they do therefore often repeat; and yet himself confesses, *page* 9. that the Convocation *has not determined* what this *thorough Settlement* is: So that the Doctor's *Liberty of Thinking* is as *clumsy*, and as much *cramp'd*, as ever, notwithstanding all the Convocation hath said. He would have us believe him, that *they thought a visible thing*. It ought to be so indeed, if interessed men would let it be seen. But by his favour, it is the main Hinge of the whole Controversie, and the onely thing that is in question: For none denies but an Upstart Authority may come at length to be so *thoroughly settled*, that all may become bound to pay and (when required) swear Allegiance to it, otherwise we could not have performed those Duties to any of our Saxon Kings, because the British Kings were once the Sovereigns in *England*; so that our whole Debate is, whether the present Government be *thoroughly setled* here or no, so as we may with a safe Conscience swear Allegiance to it; for if it be not, the Doctor is perjured, and cannot find the least pretence of Sanctuary from the Church of *England*, or her Convocations. This then is what he should have mainly insisted on, and prov'd solidly, otherwise he has done no service at all to the State. But 'tis the Misfortune of a Trimmer, that he can never be steadily true to any Interest, and sometimes not to his own.

He saw he was not a jot the nearer, nor had the least hint from the Convocation towards the altering his Thoughts, while it wholly grounded its Decrees on a *Thorough Settlement*, yet was perfectly silent in telling us what they meant by that word: Wherefore, as appears by the beginning of his second Section, he reserves for his last Refuge *Scripture*; that is, his own Explication and Application of it. But does the Scripture at least explain to us what such a *Thorough Settlement* means? Not a jot. 'Tis full as silent in this point as the Convocation. Again, Does any Text or Instance there come home to our particular Case, without which it reaches not our present Question? He not so

much as attempts to ſhow it; he cannot then pretend that any even of his own Grounds, do the leaſt ſervice to his new erected Scheme of Allegiance. The caſe of *Jaddus*, the High Prieſt, ſwearing Allegiance to *Alexander*, (page 8.) *Darius* yet living, comes neareſt our purpoſe, could he make it out: But inſtead of doing this, he ſeems not to be very certain that *Darius* was yet living, but gathers it by *Circumſtances*, and tells us of his own head, 'tis onely *probable he required an Oath of him*; that is, the Doctor fanſies he did. Laſtly, he ſays, he made not a *voluntary Dedition of himſelf to* Alexander, *having ſworn to* Darius; and that it was of *Force, not of his own Choice*; which makes directly againſt the Doctor, who contends that former Oaths bind not, when the former Prince, yet alive, is out of actual Poſſeſſion; and beſides he would have us think *Jaddus* had as ill a Conſcience as himſelf, for he would have him ſwear, and yet do it *by Force*. But we forget to acquaint the World how ſolid a Scripturiſt the Doctor is.

Nothing can be more ridiculous, or more miſ-becoming a Divine, than when he gets any word of Scripture by the end, preſently to run away with it, and apply it to his purpoſe, neglecting in the mean time thoſe Knowledges, which, being proper to thoſe reſpective matters, are to enlighten us, in giving us its true ſenſe. If the Doctor but reads, that *by God Kings reign*, that they are *God's Ordinance*, that he *transfers Kingdoms*, that *all Power is of God*, and ſuch like, he preſently thinks the whole Queſtion is concluded without more adoe; he never ſtands to conſider *why* they are God's Ordinance, nor *when* they become inveſted with *God's Authority*, and we bound in Conſcience to pay them a voluntary Allegiance; but concludes immediately, every *Actual Poſſeſſion*, or acquiring of Power, entitles them to our free Submiſſion, and this by the Divine Command. Let him learn then (for he ſays in his Preface, *he is not aſhamed to own that he is ſtill a Learner*,) that as in thoſe Paſſages in Scripture that concern the Situation of Places, the Succeſſions of Time, the Operations of Bodies, the Nature of Spirits, *&c.* we make uſe of Geography, Chronology, Natural Knowledges, and Metaphyſicks, *&c.* to interpret them rightly; ſo in thoſe particulars that concern *Government*, we are to direct our Thoughts by the Science or certain Maxims of Politicks; the common Principles of Faith

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Bill going along, and preſerving us from deviating from the known Rules of Chriſt's Doctrine. And the Reaſon is, becauſe Scripture is not intended to deliver us exact Schemes of theſe and ſuch like Knowledges; which leaves us at Liberty, nay, obliges us to uſe all thoſe Means which cultivated Reaſon affords us, to give us the particular Meaning of thoſe common Words. There are indeed ſome ſpecial Circumſtances in which our ordinary Maxims of Reaſon fail us; as, when God takes the buſineſs into his own hands after an eſpecial manner; which kind of Conduct he generally uſed in the time of the old Law, and made the Poſſeſſing or Entailing the Kingdom a Reward of Vertue, and the Loſing it a Puniſhment for Vice; thoſe dull People being moſt unnaturally led by Temporal Benefits and Penalties, (promiſed and denounc'd by the Prophets to ſtrike them with a greater Awe towards the Divine Majeſty;) amongſt which the Poſſeſſing or Forfeiting a Crown was deſervedly held one of the greateſt. But as that Managery of the World at that time was extraordinary, and peculiarly neceſſary to that People; ſo 'tis not the common way of God's governing Mankind *now*: And therefore to alledge ſuch for Patterns to imitate now a days, when prophetick Revelations to know the Divine Pleaſure are out of Faſhion, and we left to ordinary Means to know what's agreeable to God's Will, is extremely frivolous; and yet divers of the Doctor's Inſtances are made up of ſuch incongruous Parallels.

Let us ſee then if the *moſt plain* and moſt obvious *Maxims of Government* can afford us a more certain Light to underſtand aright thoſe Texts abovementioned, than the Doctor's whimſical Fancy. But firſt we are to ſet down the Doctor's Poſition, and the Grounds of it in his own Terms, that we may the better ſee how faulty it is, by comparing it to the true Ground and Reaſon of all Government. Setting then aſide at preſent his Paradox of our Obligation by Divine Law to ſwear Allegiance (if required) to a ſupreme Governour, when another is alive who hath a *Legal Right*. His Doctrine runs thus:

God ſets up Kings, when he ſees fit, without any Regard to Legal Right or Human Laws. pag. 2.

Kings thus ſet up by God, are inveſted with God's Authority which muſt be obeyed for Conſcience ſake. (p. 3.) *And therefore.*

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Subjects are bound to obey, and pay and ſwear Allegiance (if it be requir'd) to thoſe Princes whom God hath placed and ſetled in the Throne, whatever diſputes there may be about their Legal Right, when they are inveſted with God's Authority.

Whence he infers alſo that our old Allegiance and old Oaths are at an end; becauſe God by transferring the Kingdom, has transferred our Allegiance. Ibid.

To enforce this he argues (*p.* 12.) from the *Events of Providence*, which *are all ordered by God*, and ſays, (*p.* 13.) that by thoſe *Events of Providence God makes Kings now.* In a word, he builds the ſupreme Magiſtracy upon *Succeſs*, and avows conſtantly, that Actual Poſſeſſion, however gotten, giveth ſuch a Poſſeſſour Title to our Allegiance; and makes no more go to the *Authority* of a *Prince*, but *to have Power to doe a great deal of hurt, or a great deal of good.* Theſe, and ſuch other wild Poſitions, are the Pillars of his whole Diſcourſe; all the reſt of the Book is but ſo many weak Reeds to underprop it, where he fears it may ſink, or is likely to totter.

How far this Poſition differs from direct Turciſm, I need not ſpend much time to lay open. 'Tis known the Turks ſtand not upon Right, nor regard any Principles, any more than the Doctor does, but do wholly conſider the *Events of Providence*, and build Right merely upon *them*; and they meaſure every thing by *Succeſs*, as he alſo does. They no more diſtinguiſh between what God onely *permits*, and what he *wills*, than the Doctor does, and ſo they go hand in hand with him in the main of his Doctrine. One Crotchet indeed he has (*p.* 26.) which they have not, *viz.* That *the Providence of God removes and ſets up Kings, but alters no Legal Rights, nor forbids thoſe who are diſpoſſeſſed of them to recover their Right when they can; that though they be removed out of the Throne, it does not prove it God's Will it ſhould always be ſo*: And yet he tells us, thoſe who are under his new Prince, are bound by God's Law not to aſſiſt the rightfull one to recover it. So that it ſeems God *may have* two contrary Wills; one a Will that he *may recover it, if he can*; the other a Will that none ſhould help him to recover it; that is, a Will he ſhould *never recover it.*

In which Point I conceive the Doctor differs from the Turks, for none of them ever arrived to ſuch profound Nonſenſe, as to maintain two ſuch contradictory Poſitions, that hang together like

like Pebbles in a Halter. But his Kindness to the ejected Prince is this, that (if no foreign Power think it worth their while to assist him, a thing which rarely happens,) the Doctor gives him full Liberty to come over single, and fight the whole Nation, hand to fist; and if he can beat them all, and mow down whole Armies at once by his single Strength, unassisted by any of his Subjects, then the *Events of Providence*, by which God maketh Kings, *now sets him up* again in the Throne: But if he cannot doe this, he must even be content to lose his Right, and be no longer *the Lord's Anointed*. This is all the Largess our great Writer for the Irresistible Authority of Kings affords a Prince, whom he grants still to have a Legal Right; which is a scurvy Mock, though gravely pronounc'd.

The Doctor has shot his Bolt, and shewed us his Reasons why he shot it thus at random. Let us see now if our Grounds can better explain Scripture, time our Duty of Swearing Allegiance, and let the *Thorough Settlement* in a better Light than the Doctor has done. In order to which we will lay those Positions for our Principles, which are allowed by all Christians, and will not be denied by the Doctor himself, however he thought it expedient for his purpose not to take notice of them.

1. It becomes the Wisdom of the World's great Governour to enjoin by his express Command those things which are *universally beneficial* to his Creatures; such as are those Duties recommended in the Decalogue.

2. Government being evidently of that nature, it was consequently commanded by God; and accordingly the Duty of Allegiance to supreme Magistrates is understood by all Christians, to be enjoyned in that Commandment, *Honour thy Father and Mother*, &c. Thus far I conceive the Doctor will agree to.

3. That God regarding more the Universal Good of his Creatures, than that of some few particulars, therefore Government *as ordained by God*, has for its End or Object *the Common Good*. Whence the onely certain way to know who this *Father of his Country* is, whom we are commanded to *honour*, and pay our Allegiance to, is to examine whose Person, or (if the Government be successive) Family is most likely, according to the Circumstances and Grain of Affairs, to promote the Common

Good of the Nation; as also to examine whose Government is so *thoroughly settled*, as is to be held most effectual for the ease and quiet living of the People under him: For when this is evident beyond Dispute, then we are to rest assured, that it is God's Will we should acquiesse in it, and submit, and pay our Allegiance to it; this being most conducive to the Common Good, the End which God onely regards in Government, and in his Commands to pay Allegiance to it.

4. That the Government now under question is not a Spiritual Government, immediately ordering men's Actions towards Heaven; for it is confest to relate indifferently to *Cyrus*, *Darius*, *Alexander*, *&c.* as to Christian Princes, and that we are equally and indifferently commanded to obey one as the other. Our discourse then proceeds upon Temporal Governours, and the Temporal Conveniences the People enjoy under them; which consists in Plenty for their convenient Subsistence, Quiet and Peace for the comfortable Enjoying those Benefits, and Security of Possessing them for the future.

Out of which I deduce this Conclusion, That whenever God's Providence so orders things, that that Governour who has driven out another, and has got Actual Possession, is so thoroughly settled, that these Common Goods now spoken of are both perfectly enjoy'd and quietly possest by the People without any hazard of being disturbed in them by the expulsed Prince, his Discendants, or Abetters; and that mens minds settle so perfectly to this as not to *think of*, that is, not to *fear* nor *hope* for any Change, then, and not till then, are we to judge that any new Government is that which God commands us in Scripture to submit to freely, and pay a voluntary Allegiance to it; and consequently, that untill things be *thus* setled, no Man can be absolved from his Duty, or Oath of Allegiance to the former Governour, or without Perjury and Treason swear Allegiance to the new one.

This may happen chiefly in two Cases: One is when Prescription, or a long Continuance hath so worn out the former Title, that it renders it a Madness now to pretend to it: For how extravagant were it to maintain, That the Welsh-men should now lay Claim to the Government of *England*? The other, when powerfull Armies like a Torrent bear all before them by Conquest, so that 'tis not visible to the Eye of Man, how any Power

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in the World can possibly encounter them, or restore the Prince; as it happened in the Translation of the Empire in some of the four great Monarchies. In either of these cases it is clearly the common good of the People to submit to the new Governour; it being morally evident, there could be no other to govern them, nor in the least likely that any Concussion could happen to the Nation by the Pretensions of the former chief Magistrate, who had been expulsed; which (as all Histories testifie) uses to engage Nations in Civil Dissentions and Animosities at home, and endless and dangerous Wars abroad; in case the ejected Prince have the good luck to light upon some powerfull Abetter, who shall think fit out of Policy or Generosity to espouse so just a Quarrel.

If the Doctor then would oblige the present Government to purpose, and hope for Favor from them, or Benefit by them, he sees here the way chalked out how he may make Oaths of Allegiance to them current through the whole Nation, and justifie himself for taking them beyond all danger of Reproach. Let him still keep an Eye to the common Good, and clear this Point to all *England*, e'er he invites them to *swear*, That 'tis the universal Good of the three Nations, (for they make but one Government, as belonging to the same Supreme Governour,) to drive or keep out a Prince, though settled by lawfull Inheritance from a long Train of Ancestours, and to invest another in his Throne, yet warm by his sitting in it so lately, though it was visible it must in all likelihood engage these Nations in Distractions at home, and long and expensive Wars with Foreigners. He should have shown, that it was the Common Good in consequence of this Abdication, and the French King's succouring and protecting him, to declare a War against such a politick, rich, and powerfull a Monarch, when we were otherwise at Peace with him; a War never likely to have an end, till the expulsed Prince be restored. He should have shewn it was the Common Good of *England* to pay so many Millions, to be impoverished by cruel Taxes, till the Purse of the Nation is near exhausted, to have our Trade at home lost, our Merchant Ships taken in great Multitudes, and all our Beyond-Sea Commodities by consequence very dear; to have had so many many Thousands of our dear Countrey-Men killed and destroy'd, in *Scotland*, *Ireland*,

land, *Flanders*, by Land; and vaſt Multitudes either dead at Sea, or taken Priſoners: to have our Magazines emptied, our Honour loſt at Sea, our Parliaments at a Plunge how to raiſe half the Money that will ſuffice to pay our Debts, carry on the next Summer's War, and aſſiſt our Confederates. He ſhould have ſhewn it to be the Common Good to have our Countrey-men frightened already by a vaſt Navy of the Enemies Ships, lying at pleaſure, and braving us on our Coaſt, and anchoring in our very Harbours; to have been threatened already with an Invaſion, and frighted with far greater Dangers hanging over our Heads this next Campaign; and perhaps in time a vigorous Attempt to make an abſolute Conqueſt of our Countrey, in caſe the Confederacy, which is now thought to hang ticklish enough, ſhall happen to be diſſolved, and *England* ſtand once reſolutely againſt their Rightfull Prince. Laſtly, he ſhould have ſhown, that it is the Common Good of *England*, to be put to raiſe as great or greater Summs every enſuing Year, as we have done hitherto, to keep the War ſtill on Foot, and to defend our ſelves from being over-run, in Revenge of our King's Quarrel againſt our new Governour, and againſt us for admitting, owning, and aſſiſting him againſt our Lawfull Sovereign. Theſe, and many other imminent Calamities, (the neceſſary conſequences of our adhering to a new Government,) are what the oppoſite Party alledge to be againſt the Common Good of *England*; and therefore 'tis clearly the Doctor's Task to ſhew they *are not*, but that they *conduce* to the *Plenty*, *Peace*, and *Security* of the Nation; and thence conclude, that therefore 'tis agreeable to God's Will to pay and (if required) to ſwear Allegiance to the preſent Government. But, if he cannot do this, he hath quite loſt his aim, both as to the excuſing himſelf, and to his making of Proſelytes to his Swearing Principles: He has done the Actual Governours no kind of Service, and is yet to give the World a better account what motive he had to breach this new fangled Notion, without thinking it worth his while to examine whether this new Government be for the Common Good, or that 'tis agreable to God's Will, (who in all Governments regards chiefly, if not only, the Common Good of the Governed,) to ſwear Allegiance to it, though it deſtroys the Common Good of theſe Nations. This is what is obvious for the oppoſite Party to object,

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and so we are to expect from the Doctor a full solution of such like difficulties: All else is mere *banter*, unless he speaks to this Point, other men use to regard what their Antagonist will oppose, but the Doctor very cautiously waves all such Considerations, and merely follows his own Fancy.

He seems to feel some gripes about the words [*thoroughly settled*] in his unauthentick Convocation Acts. He is affraid (p. 9.) that men will in this point *impose upon themselves*; that is, he fears they will not let *himself* impose upon them. He shrewdly apprehends they *may make as little or as much go to a thorough Settlement as they please*. A sad Case! But the comfort is, do but follow the Doctor, and you are sure not to be misled. He says the Convocation *determined it not*, because they thought it *a visible thing*: So that all who agree not with him are *blind*; nay, it seems *himself* was blind too, till he came to disagree with himself. Now if he means it was *Visible* when Mens Bodies were *setled* in Prisons, or their Moneys setled in the Exchequer, he is in the right; but if he means it is visible that their *Minds* are thoroughly setled, so as to accord voluntarily to the new Government, it will scarce be yielded by the other Party to be so clearly Visible as he fancies it? 'Tis known, will his Opposers say, how hardly the Abdication Vote passed in the Convention; how clamorously it was carried by a Party that had the Dutch Army on their side, to over-awe the Resisters; how the Nation was first surprised by a politick Stratagem; how the most zealous, except a very few, dreamt of no more but a Reformation of some Mis-governments, and little imagin'd it would be push'd forwards to the driving away their King, and a renouncing his Authority; how divers of the Lords protested against the Proceedings; how the Nation was Bug-bear'd with imaginary Frights, and bubbled with lying Stories of a League with *France*, a suppositious Prince, and the Common People with that senseless Imposture, that they were all sold to the French King. None of which Fictions being *proved*, (as was most requisite, had they been true,) or *provable*, many thousands who were then shamm'd, and hurried out of their Allegiance, are since awakned out of this Dream, and silently moan to see their Prince so grossly abused, and themselves deluded and decoy'd into the maintaining a War at *England's* Cost for the Interest of the Confederates. They will press him to shew

it Visible, that multitudes (even in the Parliament) do not now run along for *Fear*, who otherwise would face about to the former Prince; others out of Desperation, that being *over Shoes*, they may as well be *over Boots* too: Which is agreeable to one of his prime Marks of the *thorough Settlement* of the present Governour, *viz.* That those who will not submit to him *can be crusht by him.* A Character which would make a Pack of Robbers in the Wilderness a most perfect and *thorough settled* Form of Government over the poor Travellers, for they can crush them at their Pleasure, if they yield not their Purses. But to proceed with the Doctor's *thorough Settlement*, in order to Mens Minds, they will ask him how many in *England* he thinks in his Conscience do so freely submit to the present Government, as to pay such heavy Taxes *voluntarily* to uphold it; and if they do not, then whether the generality do not retain a secret *hankering* after former Government under which they paid *none*. They will tell him he is little vers'd in the world, if he knows not that this one late Tax of the double Excise does strongly depose the Rabble to a rising, and this upon the very *hearing* of it, how much more when they came to *experience* the Uneasiness of it. They will put him in mind how great a party in *England* do *hope* for King *James* his Return, and how many do *fear* it; and ask him how he can assure us which side is the greater; in regard the later dare speak their Minds, the former dare not, for fear of being *crusht*. Nay, they will alleadge, that the Minds even of the most zealous Abetters of the present Government, are not perfectly at Quiet, but are perplexed with some kind of Solitude, whether or no they shall finally enjoy their new acquired Honours and Advantages. They will demand of him whether or no he does not see many honest Men of his own Profession crusht and turn'd out of their Livings, rather than they will *swear* or *pray*, as they are enjoin'd. Above all, they will tell him, (since he seems to forget what ought most to direct him in his Duty,) that he knows that a Right Reverend Primate, and Head of our Church, divers of our Bishops, and other great Personages of the cleerest Honour, do utterly refuse the Doctors beloved compliances; Does this shew a *thorough Settlement*? He will say perhaps, their number is inconsiderable, if compar'd with the Compliers: But, by his favour, their *Weight* is considerable than the others *Number*. A few very Honorable and knowing

knowing Perſons, who go viſibly *againſt* their Intereſt and hazard, or rather experience their *Ruine* by their non-compliance, are of far greater Authority with all ſober Men, than Multitudes of others, who do manifeſtly find their account in running a long with the Times. Theſe may poſſibly and (conſidering the weakneſs of humane Nature) *probably* have a Regard, either out of Fear to their Security, or out of Intereſt to the Benefits they reap by ſuch a ſubmiſſion; whereas the others cannot poſſibly have any Worldly or Temporal motive for their refuſing, nor any other Inducement but pure Conſcience. Had they the leaſt ſuſpicion upon them to be ill Men, or inclin'd to Faction or Sedition; were they Ignorant or eaſy to be led ſo blindly into an Error, that their own Intereſt and Self-preſervation would not open their Eys to ſee it, their Morals or Intellectuals might in that caſe bear the blame, and make us think they might be *byaſſed*; but ſince they are univerſally reputed to be the moſt Learned, moſt Virtuous, and moſt Pious Men in our Church, 'tis juſtly preſumable, and in a manner demonſtrable, that they have *Truth on their ſide*, and out of meer Conſcience purſue it, and *ſtick to it*. And does the Dr. think that the Examples of ſuch Eminent Lights of our Church does not effect many Thouſands of the moſt Honeſt and moſt ſincere Members of it, though for fear of being *Cruſht* they prudently conceal their Judgment?

By this we ſee that this Learned Dr. had in his *Settlement* quite forgot the Settling Mens *Minds*, nor ever had the leaſt Conſideration of Setling the *Common Good*, which is the End of Government, and Eſſential to it: Nothing ſinks into his Brain but ſuch a Settlement as keeps Men down by *Force*, can *cruſh* them, and *do them a great deal of hurt*, if they ſpeak and act as their Loyal Thoughts would lead them, or repine at their deplorable Condition. So *this* Power be but ſettled, and himſelf, by flattering it, be but ſtill ſettled *Maſter of the Temple*, let other ſlight concerns go how they will, all is as well as his Heart can wiſh. If he will have other Inſtances of a *Non-ſettlement* here, the other Party will tell him, that Men's *Eſtates* are not *ſetled*, as long as we know no end of our *Taxes*. Our *Peace* is not *ſetled*; while we muſt ſtill expect *Wars* and *Invaſions*. Our *Livelihoods* are not *ſettled*, while we find our Trade daily decay-

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ing, most of our Commodities dearer, and Money grown too scarce to buy them. Nay, our *Lives* and *Persons*, and those of our Friends and Relations, are not *setled*, while they are liable to be rudely hurry'd away by Press-masters to the Wars, to fight in the cause of Foreigners; nor is there likely to be any end of these Unsettlements till the War is ended, nor is the War likely to be ended, till by the Return of the Ejected Prince Peace be restor'd and all things run in the former Channel. And, if the Government cannot settle these things, 'tis not an Upholder of the Common Good; and consequently, in true speech, no more a *Government*, than the *Pulling down* a House is a *Building* or *Repairing* it; and therefore 'tis evident that, in such a State of things, the very Government is so far from *throughly setled*, that 'tis *utterly Unsetled* it self. For the Common Good is the Universal Concern of Human Nature; and Nature, where 'tis over prest, will quickly find means to work out its own ease, and to throw off the *Curbing* Yoke.

The Doctor has one saying by chance, which seems to come a little towards the purpose, *viz.* that *there is no visible prospect how* the Ejected Prince *should recover his own again.* (p. 18.) I must tell he ought to have said, *'Tis Evident he never can recover his Throne.* Otherwise he makes *Cromwell* to be God's Anointed, and makes those Sin against the Divine Law who paid any Duty of Allegiance to King *Charles* the Second, while he was in Banishment; for what *visible prospect* was there then of his returning, when he had no Power himself, nor any Powerful Abettour to stand up against that great Politician, whose Absolute Power made all his Neighbors tremble. But let us examine the Doctor's words. If he has, as he says, *no visible prospect* of King *James* his Restoration, I hope he has in his Eye how the French King, who has undertaken his Restoring, may be brought under; how *England* should at long run resist *him*, reduce *Ireland* perfectly, preserve King *James*'s Party in *Scotland* from rising for him, when ever that Great Monarch shall see it seasonable to send 10000 Soldiers, with Arms and Provisions, thither. I suppose he sees also how the Confederacy shall be certainly kept on foot, notwithstanding his Victories and New Acquisitions on this side, and the Turks encroaching upon the Emperour in *Bulgaria*, *Transylvania*, and *Hungary*, on the other. Lastly, I hope the Doctor

Doctor had in his *visible Prospect*, how *England* should furnish Money yearly to reduce *Ireland*, preserve *Scotland*, maintain a War against the French King by Sea and Land; and keep up the Hearts of those poorer Confederates, who want it. And if he sees all this, he would doe well to write another learned Book, to let the World know how all these great matters may be accomplish'd; for the *Phænomena* hitherto are all of them so perfectly against any such Hopes, that 'tis beyond the Prospect of all the Politicians in *Europe*, how this can be contriv'd and compassed, unless the Doctor's *visible Prospect* of Things comes to instruct and enlighten them.

He presumes the Acceptation of a Parliament to be a clear Argument of a *Thorough Settlement*: But he may remember, that it has been the Complaint against former Reigns, that a crafty Court-party, by Arts they had, could manage Parliaments at pleasure, to the great Injury of the People; nor can we doubt but all Artifice was used in that Juncture by the Party then in Power, to get themselves a new King. 'Tis known what a numerous Body was against the Abdication Vote, on which all that was done *then*, and *ever since*, depends. Nor can it be doubted but the Absence of the true King discouraged divers others, and that the seeing a resolute Intention to impose another King upon them, frighted very many from opposing it, lest they should be held disaffected, and so live uneasie for the future. And yet notwithstanding all this, not a few eminent Personages, of the greatest Honor, hazarded their Interest, in Protesting boldly and solemnly against their Proceedings: So that all was not so current and hearty, even then when Men were in a Consternation, and over-powered, as the Doctor would persuade us.

But 'tis now high time to examine the Doctor's Principles, on which he erects his new Scheme of Government.

1. *God*, says he, *sets up Kings when he sees fit, without regard to Legal Right, or Humane Laws.*

Answ. But the Persons set up against Law, are not only at first, but very often a long time after, *Usurpers*, *Rebels*, or *Tyrants*, and never arrive at the nature of a true King, till the hurry and struggle for the Government, (which might prove

the Ruine of the Common-wealth,) be ſo quaſh'd, that Men ſeeing evidently, that the legal Line, which onely could ſecurely ſettle the Nation in a laſting Peace, not poſſible to be reſtored, compoſe their diſtracted Thoughts, and univerſally acquieſs in the new Government.

2. *Kings*, ſaith he, *thus ſet up by God, are inveſted with God's Authority, and muſt be obeyed for Conſcience ſake.*

Anſw. What! Muſt they be true Kings at the very firſt, however they come by the ſupreme Power? This Principle of the Doctor's is ſo haſty, that it creates them Kings at the very firſt *ſtarting up*, which he calls being *ſet up by God*, and *inveſts them* immediately *with the Divine Authority*. Now this is what we *deny*, and he never proves, nor can prove. What we contend is, that they come not to be endowed with that high Prerogative of being *Divinely inſtituted*, till their ſtill continuing in Power comes to be, all things conſidered, the *beſt* for the *Common Good*; which is the End of Government, and what God intends by it.

3. *Subjects*, ſays he, *are bound to obey, and pay and ſwear Allegiance (if required) to thoſe Princes whom God has placed and ſettled in the Throne, whatever Diſputes may be about their Legal Rights when they are inveſted with God's Authority.*

Anſw. Stay till then, good Doctor, and then ſwear your Belly full. This Propoſition is a Concluſion from the other two; but then how comes the word [*ſetle*] to be cogg'd in here? Sure the Doctor is Maſter of ſo much Logick, as to know that nothing muſt be put in the Concluſion, which is not found in the Premiſſes. Now in his former Propoſitions there is not a word of [*ſetling,*] but onely of [*ſetting up,*] which may be done, though the Thing be likely to be pulled down again the next day, or fall of it ſelf for want of a Foundation. But 'tis remarkable, that there is not one of his untoward Principles does in the leaſt regard any *Settlement* at all, but they proceed all along upon *Actual Poſſeſſion*, and ſuch lik Pleas; nor had he had ſo much as a Thought of any ſuch Notion, had not his Convocation happened to name the words [*thoroughly ſetled,*] of which

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therefore, fearing it lay open to be objected, he takes notice of for Fashion-sake, muses it with bare [illegible], and now and then inserts it into his Context, in spight of his Principles, which insist wholly upon *Events of Providence*, *which makes Kings now*, upon *Actual Possession*, the having a *Power to doe a great deal of Hurt, and a great deal of Good*, and such like raw Stuff, which equally oblige us to pay all those Duties to him that gets the upper hand *for the time being*, whether his Power be of one day, or of a whole Age's continuance.

No matter then what the Doctor says casually, (for he will both say and swear as serves his turn;) what we are to attend to is the sense of his Principles, which being fairly printed in black and white, cannot chop about, as *he* does, and alter themselves as they list. We have already seen how wise his Principles are, speculatively considered, now let us put them into Practise, and see what work they will make in the World. The heroick Fish-porter, *Massianello*, got the supreme Power in *Naples*, or, as the Doctor phrases it, was *set up by God*, and held it for three Days. He was so absolute, that every Man's Life and Estate depended on the least sign he made, or word he spoke. Here now the Doctor has a King to his mind in all particulars. He had the Supreme Power, it was *ordered by God*, being *an Event of Providence*, and as *wonderfull* as any one in Dr. *Burnet*'s first Sermon; and *by such Events God makes Kings now*. Here is also *Actual Possession* for the time; here is *Success*; lastly, here is a *Power to doe a great deal of Hurt, and a great deal of Good*, and consequently all the badges of kingly Power the Doctor could assign. Now comes his *Royal Massianello*, and requires an Oath of Allegiance of the Doctor, who recurring to his Principles very formally passes this Complement upon him. May it please your most Sacred Majesty, God by *transferring* the Supreme Power over *Naples* from the King of *Spain* to you, has withall *transferr'd my Allegiance*. He has *set you* in the Throne by an *Event of Providence, order'd by himself*, by which he *uses to make Kings*, and therefore I should Sin against God's Law, not to pay and swear Allegiance to your Majesty, being *invested with God's Authority*.

Take yet another Instance, although it may be something coarser: Suppose then some ranting Gallant should spirit away the Doctors, or any other Man's Wife (for it alters not the case) as it happend very lately to a young Wife of an old Lawyer:

yet: Here is an *Event of Providence*, though a very scarvy one; here is a thing *ordained by God*; here is *Actual Possession*, and he has now got *Power* over her, *to do her a great deal of Good or Harm*. The Question now is, Whether this Wife may, without a Sin against God's Law, refuse to pay her Matrimonial Allegiance, or Conjugal Duty to this Blade?

'Tis plain *God has transferr'd* the *Power* over her from him to another, why then by the Doctor's Principles has he not *transferr'd* her *Duty* too? He must not alledge that the Matrimonial Duty is *Commanded by God's Law* to be paid only to a Husband, or that he retains a Legal Right to her; for all his Books for the Irresistibleness of the Authority of the Supreme Magistrate grant Indispensible Allegiance due to the former Prince ere dispossest *by the Divine Law*, and that though he yet retains a *Legal* Right to the Crown, yet that Duty may be paid to another who is in Actual Possession, as our Gallant is, notwithstanding the Divine Law of paying Allegiance to him only, *before* the *Translation* of the Power *by God's Order*. I would know then by the Doctor's Principles, why she is not bound by God's Law to play the wanton, and the Husband, whoever he is, bound in *pure Principles of Conscience* to be a contented C----d.

The same service his Principles would do to any Robber that takes a Purse, or Thief that Steals a Cloak. Both of them are *Events of Providence ordered by God*, by which he *transfers* the *Power* over our Purses and Cloaks, and the *Actual Possession* of them, to others; both are crown'd with *Success*, a mighty Argument with the Doctor that 'tis *God's Ordinance*, which we cannot resist without opposing the Divine pleasure: and therefore let Purses, and Cloaks, and Wives, and all go to old *Nick*, rather than resist a *Divine Ordinance* as this is; for the Doctor tells us here, p. 12. that *all Events for the Good or Evil of Private Men or Publick Societies, are order'd by him*. Now the Doctor's Piety persuades him that all which God *Orders* should *stand as it is*, (though ill done at first,) and why then should we go about to *disorder* what Infinite Wisdom has *order'd*, by taking our Purses or Cloaks out of those poor fellows hands, who had God's *Order* and *Authority* to take them from us?

All this Folly in the Doctor springs from his not distinguishing in all Sinfull Actions that share of them which belongs to

God, and that Obliquity or Deviation from Right Reason, that arises from the Defectuousness of Creatures. All that is *Positive* (and consequently good) in them is entirely attributed to God, in whom *we live, move, and have our Being*: What's *Privative*, or short of Right Reason, comes from the Limitedness and imperfect Beings of Creatures. Besides, each of those two Fountains have a course of *Effects* issuing from them, which are to be refunded into the Effective and Defective Causes respectively. Wherefore as the Fault in *Getting* a Kingdom injuriously was an ill Action *at first*, because Unsettling and wronging the Common Good, so the *Retaining* it while that Ill continues, though it be *permitted* by God, yet 'tis for that Regard *against* God's Ordinance, who wills no Government against the Common Good, nor is it to be called *The Authority of God*; nor is the Actual Possessour of such a Power in that case to be said to be *vested with God's Authority*, or *set up by him*, any more than the Actions of Robbers, Cut-purses, *&c.* can be said to be *his*, or to be done by them, as *invested with God's Authority* to play such Pranks: Nor is Allegiance to be *paid*, much less *sworn* to such Authority, untill God, whose Property 'tis to support the Failings of his wretched Creatures, and to bring Good out of Evil, thinks fit to order things so, that what before was *against the Common Good*, or the *Peace*, *Plenty*, and *Safety* of the People, become now *for it*, and most conducing to it. And therefore hand over head to entitle a Power to be *God's* peculiar *Ordinance*, whenever *Actual Possession* is got, and this in every Contingency and Vicissitude of Things, whatever Mischief it induces, is a Shallowness that none but Dr. *Sherlock*, nor himself neither, till divided in himself, or rather that loose half of him that ran away from his Fellow half, could ever have stumbled upon.

The summ is, let him or any man prove that the present Government is, all things considered, the *Common Good of the Nation*, and I declare, that both my self will, and every honest man ought to become the Doctor's Proselyte. But if none can prove this, then I hope no true Englishman but will take my part, for preferring the *Common Good* of our dear Country before the Exaltation or Private Advantages of particular Persons, who are Aliens and Strangers.

FINIS.

ERRATA.

PAge 3 line 16 read shamm'd p. 5 l. 12 r. *thought it a* p. 7 l. 13. r. connaturally, p. 9 l. 17 r. set this p. 12 l. 14 r. stand out resolutely p. 14 l. 18 r. dispose l. 20 come l. 28 Solicitude l. ult. more considerable.

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